

844/poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten-
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 [843] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years
 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and
 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years
 [75] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten-
 [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé
 [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules.

[755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on manioc flour and maize and manioc cauf, even when the child is older than six.

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to
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 946 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
 757 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
 756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or
 may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing
 at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack
 is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (ipirã kunya) or gnawing worms
 (uukã or áwai) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
 [755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body
 these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of
 illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
 756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed respon-
 sible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in
 dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not
 be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
 [759] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical
 devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
 761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
 756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
 [754] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters
 soon become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward
 whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, sus-
 picion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé
 decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-
 murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives
 are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without
 violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of
 danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Uru-
 kumu and Wantanamu, panics of sufficient power to be suspected of
 causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips,
 staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as
 in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites
 but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is
 working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[752] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "iwutáru" to describe the condition of
 152 anger and sadness.

787 other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw
 796 Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had
 [796] many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of
 shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later
 [796] that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in
 the other-world; he would have died.

796 A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the
 headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men,
 however, did not have the courage to wear it.

796 The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown
 786 phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony.
 At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the
 powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed
 the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the
 air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately,
 stricken by a *pançé-lánwera*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He
 too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two
 young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of
 the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the
 headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned sing-
 ing to their houses.

796 On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony
 followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the
 two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground,
 taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-
 enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the
 dwelling house. Following this performance, all the men of the village
 gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri
 walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shak-
 [788] ing the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several
 men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing
 with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men
 who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing".
 Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles.
 Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told,
 Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

[533] That evening men sang the songs of the *ançinga aiwiró*, the spirits
 535 that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late
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fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairaho told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. [756 781 796 761]

Case of Pançei

Pançei is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

Case of Anawani

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful pançé during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of topi. [581 589]

Case of Kanacipã

Kanacipã is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipã out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 533]

152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the
 775 suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
 [761] the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not
 afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the
 souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman
 which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his
 beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels
 a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel
 through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who
 wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them,
 because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived,
 the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang
 loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have
 observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
 152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
 648 white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill,
 they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the
 house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening
 air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the
 Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the
 nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a
 pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen.
 [514] The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official
 protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch
 which he agitates without interruption by night he has to go out of the house
 in order to relieve himself.

152 So for the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
 157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and
 Kamairahó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid,
 had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

São Paulo, Brazil.

Notes

- 113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaio de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156-158.
 2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
 3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1953,
 pp. 39-40.
 4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946.
 S. Paulo.
 5. Cf. Amílcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelos sertões do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo,
 1941, pp. 497-498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Müdling
 bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456-458.
 6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaio de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
 7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.a.,
 Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

Death.—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

763 As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The 764 corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

765 Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 Art.—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-
531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 Musical Instruments.—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

533 Music.—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);